1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

monial clown of this occasion, is said to have taught the Papago 782
to summon him at other times by placing corn meal in his hand. 243
They invite all workers for the festival in this way, and, moreover, special officials make a corn meal "road" for the dancers in the Pueblo manner. Officials also sprinkle corn meal on all who enter the ceremonial enclosure, and at least once on all the inhabitants of every participating village. Corn meal is also used on other occasions. Holding a pinch of it in the hand is the method for summoning the shaman and the curing singer, and it is strewn on the ocean by the salt pilgrims.

PURIFICATION

All who took part in a ceremony, or at least the important offi- 783
ciants, observed continence, fasted, and finally took a cold bath to remove the supernatural influence. Cold water was the accepted Papago method of purification. It was obtained by allowing water to stand in the wind in a porous jar, thus being cooled by evaporation. A burdensome duty of the women folk belonging to any ceremonialist was the fetching of fresh water and making a new porous jar.

Fasting was raised by the Papago to extreme importance. During 783
food ceremonies the officiants abstained from meat, grease, and salt 785
in the Pueblo manner, but the power ceremonies demanded self-denial amounting almost to starvation. One may conjecture that these Spartan measures required as much endurance as did the running demanded of visionaries. They served the practical purpose of fitting a youth for the rigorous life of a desert hunter and warrior. Women also fasted and ran, though to a lesser degree. It would seem that the Desert People, in whose lives food and running were recurrent necessities, had elevated these prosaic needs to ceremonial virtues.

Blowing tobacco smoke upon someone was a milder form of 783
purification. It was used by the shaman to cure illness and also by 276
those who purified a man who had been in contact with supernatural power. In the old rituals blowing tobacco smoke is a form of prayer which placed a man in contact with the supernatural.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

9

THE SALT PILGRIMAGE

ALONG the northern beaches of the Gulf of California there are salt deposits, left in the low sandy stretches by the high tides. The country is waterless and uninhabited, and few whites have penetrated it even to the present day. Records have been left of this forbidding waste of sand dunes by Kino, by Anza,[1] and later by Lumholtz,[2] and all thought they were lucky to get themselves and their animals through alive. But the Papago, since prehistoric times, have been visiting this wilderness to fetch salt, both for use and for trade. Velarde reports: "There is salt in the inlets on the coast. The Pimas take some to distribute to friends and relatives, especially the Pimas of the west (Papago). Those of the north care little about it." [3]

To this day the Papago continue their pilgrimages to the salt beds.[4] They have, through the centuries, worked out routes which take them past the few hidden "tanks," or rocky reservoirs, of rain water to be found in the wastes of sand. Even so, the last lap of the journey which brings them to the gulf must be made with no other drinking water than that in their canteens. Though they take canny means to compass the journey safely, they make no attempt to minimize its hardships. Rather, these are emphasized to the last degree and used as an occasion for heroism. Even in the days of gourd canteens, they carried only the minimal quantity of water. Now that they have horses, they use them neither for carrying extra water nor extra quantities of salt. They fast voluntarily, almost to starvation.

[1] Bolton, 1930, I, 90. [2] Lumholtz, 1912, pp. 196–254. [3] Velarde, Sec. 2, p. 127.

[4] The Pima do not make the salt pilgrimage, but say they always traded for salt with the Papago.

[p.211]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

horned creature they represent looks like no animal in particular and is said to be the devil. The rest of the costume consists of old, ragged clothing, though formerly the impersonator went naked. Youths who volunteer for this service expect to gain good fortune, like other ceremonial performers.

The devils appear on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. During these days everyone guards his yard enclosure with a cross, because anything not so protected may be appropriated by the devils. "This is to teach the people how to guard against bad people." The devils come around, gesturing and scaring the children and will take anything outside the yard. The remedy is to make the sign of the cross; then the devil will run away. If he has taken anything, one may chase him with a crucifix or make him an offering of a cigarette(!); then he will drop the object. The devils are particularly active on Good Friday night. On Saturday morning, everything that they have taken is piled up in front of the church. The people come to claim their property and pay a cigarette or five or ten cents. Otherwise everything is burned.

After the redemption of property, the devils are whipped with branches of *Encelia farinosa*. This, when they were naked, was a serious affair and meant really to hurt. There is a whipper for each devil, chosen by the old man in charge of the arrangements. The devils do not resist, but come docilely and kneel. Just before the whipping the people throw flowers on the devils. "These are from Santa Maria Guadalupe," they say. The reason is that "once when Guadalupe was on this earth, a man threw flowers on her, asking for rain. You can see the flowers on her robe now, although some call them stars." Throwing flowers has since been recognized as a way to ask for rain from the Christian supernaturals. After being whipped, the devils remove their masks and throw them on the fire, where the booty is being burned. They say: "Now I shall feel happy. I shall relinquish my work. I shall continue four years, then I shall finish. Whoever is a friend to me will assume this duty and will follow as I did."

After the devils have been disposed of, there is social dancing in couples, in the Mexican style. At intervals a "pascol" dancer,

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796 In former times the Viikita ceremony was held every four years, that in the north being in November and that in the south being in the latter part of August or in September. Two derivations of the word *viikita* were given, the most reliable informants stating it came from a word meaning "to fast," while others said it came from *viiki*, [185] meaning white downy eagle plumes. Fasting was part of the observance, and white eagle plumes were worn by the dancers. In the northern part of the reservation this ceremony was held near the "children's burying ground." A tradition states that a spring overflowed and threatened the country with inundation, so two children were buried alive in it to stop the flow of water. Because of this tradition it is customary for either two or four girls and boys to take part in the ceremony, representing the children who were thus sacrificed. This is peculiar to the northern observances of the ceremony. The origin of the ceremony is, in this region, attributed [176] to a deity called Navico, who is said to have given the gourd to the Indians.

Stones are heaped above the spring in which the children were buried, and the place is surrounded with branches of ocatillo cactus stuck in the ground. (Pl. 18, *a*.) These are renewed every year and heaps of discarded branches can be seen in the background. After this spring had been choked a smaller spring issued from the ground a few rods away. This was covered with stones, and there the [182] Indians place offerings of various trinkets or valuables. (Pl. 18, *b*.) Around this heap of stones is a well-worn path, and straight paths extend from this to the cardinal points. It was said that a person bringing a gift to the place should enter by one of the radial paths, run around the heap of stones, and run out by the path on which he had entered. The location was a few miles from Santa Rosa village. (Cf. Lumholtz, op. cit., p. 105.)

Four villages united in the northern ceremony, which was held for the last time in the year 1912 at Arci, located about halfway between Santa Rosa and Anakum. The other three villages taking part were Santa Rosa, Anakum, and Akcina. People living elsewhere and attending the ceremony connected themselves temporarily with one of these villages. About fifty people came from each of the four villages, and in each there were about six men who had charge of the ceremonial articles.

A ceremonial inclosure was made with an opening toward the east and at some distance was a similar inclosure where the singers rehearsed the songs. The walls of these inclosures were made of cornstalks, and the height of the wall was the length of two rows of cornstalks, the upper row overlapping the lower. This made a wall about 10 feet in height. Preparations for the ceremony included the gathering of the watermelons and the making of many tamales tied

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 each booth must neither eat nor drink from sunrise to sunset, during the time of the ceremony, nor relieve themselves during that period. Four times, at noon, dry pinole and water are held under their noses, but they must not touch either of them.

● [785] The four singers and the woman guardian may have water, but no food; neither may they leave their posts to relieve bodily discomforts, from sunrise to sunset.

Any of the men or boys may don the ceremonial costumes and march, two at a time, to the spot near the singers' booths, where they dance and sing twice, and then, returning, sing once while in the booth, and once before retiring from it, making four times in all, for four is the ceremonial number of

[801] the Papago. Anything done once must be repeated four times before it is completed.

The two men in costumes and masks always sang and stamped opposite each other, and made the same motions with the ceremonial eagle-wands. Each party took about ten or twelve minutes from the time the assistants fastened on the ceremonial costumes until they were removed. Usually